Between the Old and the New Art of Movement. Dance and Cinematic Reflexivity at the Intersections of Cinema's Past, Present and Future

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Since its very beginnings, cinema has been fascinated by dancers and dance: from the first *scènes de danses et de ballets* in early cinema to recent dance experiments with digital media, dancers seem to be "cinematic subjects par excellence,"[1] as Siegfried Kracauer states in his *Theory of Film*. The idea of a specific affinity between dance and film not only characterizes Kracauer's theories, but plots a continuous, subtextual line through film theory from its very beginning up to recent approaches.[2] However, depictions of dance are not only popular cinematic *motifs*, but, as I will argue in this paper, can also be read as a figure of self-reflexive intermediality through which films and film theory negotiate the questions of "where does cinema come from?" and "what will cinema be in the future?" By focussing on dance in films and film theory from 1900 to the 1920s, I will demonstrate that filmic dance references of this period do not only serve as strategies to ennoble the new medium by assigning it a place in the system of the traditional arts and relating it to the aesthetic discourses of the 19th century. Furthermore, the highly auratic dimension of dance seems to have inspired early film theorists and critics to project a utopian potential of (what then seemed) a "future" aesthetics of cinema. With a brief outline on dance in digital images, I will finally argue that the visionary rhetoric of these discourses still remains valid up to current postulations continuously renewing the promise of a "forthcoming" film aesthetics under the paradigm of dance.

Early cinema, dance and cinematic reflexivity

When already the first commercial film projections included dance in their imagery, this primarily demonstrated that the cinematograph is capable of showing movement by means of moving images. As Lorenz Engell notes, the representation of dancers is inscribed into a series of "very trivial visual themes which owe their significance solely to the fact of representing motion."[3] Apart from their attraction as moving images, the

countless *scènes de danses et de ballets* – a popular production genre of early cinema[4] – hence refer to those cultural practices of spectacular entertainment from the context of which cinema derives. Thus, the first film programmes mostly include trivial dance forms from vaudeville and music hall shows[5] of the time: acrobatic dances, skirt- and serpentine dances, flag dances, as well as exotic or native dances.

The media-reflexive function of dance in early film is not only evident in the cultural context of production and exhibition, but frequently also already inscribed into the cinematic texts themselves. The film *Animated Picture Studio*[6] presents an especially prominent example of such self-referential films made during the period of early cinema. Presumably produced in 1903 in Britain and distributed in the United States by the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company, the film aligns the motif of dance with a self-reflexive perspective on the process of filming a dancer. The BFI catalogue entry summarizes the plot as follows: "A young dancer enters a photographic studio, is filmed dancing and sits on the photographer's knee. The resulting film is projected on to a picture frame. She protests and throws it to the floor, shattering it, but it continues to move."[7]

Against the backdrop of this rather anecdotal plot about a dancer's vanity and promiscuity,[8] *Animated Picture Studio* self-consciously displays all phases of the filming process within a single shot: from the moment of preparing the studio, the shooting of the dance and the development in the dark room to the instant of projection and its fantastic afterlife in the medially performed miniature dances (fig. 21). At this crucial moment of projecting the completed film, *Animated Pictures Studio* significantly alters its presentational mode: By means of multiple exposure, it shows the film-within-the-film taking on a phantasmagoric life of its own perpetuated beyond the screen in the guise of holographic dances.

What seemed to be a self-reflexive *monstration*[9] of cinematic technology shifts into a fantastic narration, reiterating the popular science fiction trope of Man losing his mastery of technology. Although drawing upon the tropes of popular stage illusionism, *Animated Picture Studio* produces a more complex *mise en abîme* structure wherein the illusion is clearly generated by the technical apparatus itself. As Catherine Hindson has pointed out, the filmic re-medialisation of the dance is presented as a process of increasing dematerialisation of the dancer's body operated by modern technology. Thus we can watch the dancer "go through the stages of being a real physical presence dancing for the camera, to an insubstantial image on the canvas and, finally, become an insubstantial image that has escaped the confines of the projection screen."[10] In this process, the dancer's movements progressively merge with the cinematic technology, to finally merely be performed by the medium itself.

Unlike earlier films displaying dance numbers as they would be seen on stage, *Animated Picture Studio* thus seems to shift its attraction value[11] from the filmed dance to the cinematic apparatus as presented within the film. In Frank Kessler's terms,[12] one might say that the film does not only present cinematography as an "apparatus of the spectacular," but also as "spectacular apparatus," capable of literally *animating* its pictures. Therefore, *Animated Picture Studio* on the one hand reflects how the cinematic re-mediatization of cultural practices (here variety dances) transforms the latter's ontological status: the filmed dances fade into the realm of technological reproducibility, irreversibly detaching themselves from their original production context and the dancer's body, to finally enter the incessant circulation of images of the 20th century's culture industry. Hence *Animated Picture Studio* displays an emerging awareness of the *difference* between the prior cultural series[13] (as with these dance shows emerging from a music-hall context) and cinema's specific mediality. Furthermore, *Animated Picture Studio* demonstrates how the filmed dance in turn also affects the cinematic apparatus. The autonomously perpetuated movement by which the filmed dance transcends the confines of the screen might already point at the specific potential which Nicole Brenez has identified as "la puissance figurale de la danse," i.e. the very element in dance that exceeds and displaces the filmic image: "Ainsi, la danse produit des elements qui exorbitent l'image, tout

devient étrange et se déplace: le plan, ses développements, les modes de projection et le statut des corps."[14] Interestingly, several catalogues attribute the role of the dancer in *Animated Picture Studio* to Isadora Duncan, the legendary American pioneer of modern dance. As Ian Christie observes, this (presumably) false reference "makes an already intriguing little allegory even more poignant,"[15] and – as I would like to underline – bears witness to the extent to which cultural conceptions of dance around 1900 are attached to the protagonists of modern dance. By 1900 and against the background of *Lebens-* and *Körperreform* ("philosophical vitalism and the body reform movement"), the culturally established ideas on dance undergo a profound reevaluation. Countering the aesthetics of classical ballet and seeking to unleash the unexplored expressive potential of the human body, protagonists of the *neue freie Tanz* such as Isadora Duncan, Loïe Fuller, or Ruth St. Denis declare movement phenomena in nature or in ancient and exotic cultures to be the source of inspiration for the creation of their dance movements.[16] As a prominent figure of thought, this influential redefinition of dance then inscribes itself in contemporary cultural and philosophical discourses, providing a poetological model for the other arts. As a key medium of all arts trying to reflect the new technological age as an era defined by motion,[17] the renewed conception of dance also permeates film theory.

From "spontaneous" to "negotiated" intermediality: dance references between popular entertainment and art

Already in first decades of film theoretical writing, theorists and critics reflect upon the parallels between dance and film. Yet, compared to the far more widespread allusions to theatre, music or poetry, which were at the centre of early film theory's debates on intermediality, references to dance seem less systematic. They rather flare up erratically within the writings of such different authors as Ricciotto Canudo, Hermann Häfker in the context of the *Kinoreformbewegung* ("Cinema Reform Movement"), or later in the 1920s Béla Balázs, Elie Faure, Fernand Divoire, and Germaine Dulac. These discursive dance metaphors differ significantly from the dance scenes depicted in early films: whereas the latter mainly show popular dances anchored in the world of vaudeville and entertainment, early film theorists ostensively seek to anchor their allusions in an understanding of dance *as art*. From the early dance scenes to the first theoretical discourses, the function of dance in cinema's self-image thus seems to shift. Following André Gaudreault's and Philippe Marion's concept of the double-birth of a medium (as developed in their article "A Medium Is Always Born Twice"),[18] one might account for this discrepant concept of dance by distinguishing them as reflecting two different phases in the intermedial negotiations of cinema's novelty. In Gaudreault and Marion's terminology, the depictions of vaudeville dances in early films can be considered as forms of "spontaneous intermediality," by which the new medium insinuates itself in the entertainment context, from and through which it emerges. Consequently, early films reiterate popular motifs and practices like the variety dances within their imagery: "Integrated into an intermedial field, the medium itself integrates the intermediality that surrounds it."[19] In a second phase of intermedial references designated by Gaudreault and Marion as "negotiated intermediality,"[20] the medium comes to assert its singularity and its specific potential by shifting or modifying pre-existing cultural practices. Assuming that Gaudreault and Marion's concept of media genealogy can be applied to the discursive level as well, I propose to consider references to dance in film theoretical discourses of the teens and twenties as forms of such "negotiated intermediality." This concept allows us to regard comparisons with reference to dance – equally comparisons to theatre, literature, poetry and the fine arts – as theoretical metaphors negotiating the artistic novelty and autonomy of the film medium as well as its relation to the traditional arts.

Placing cinema in the genealogy of the arts of movement

While references to vaudeville dance are prevalent in early cinema's imagery without playing a significant role in the theoretical discourses, the reverse seems thus true of dance-as-art conceptions: dance reform's *prime movers*[21] remain largely *invisible* in early film culture, whereas their aesthetic paradigms permeate the film theoretical debates of the first decades of the 20th century. To emphasize the conceptual affinity to ideas of the dance reform movement, film theorists and critics often refer explicitly to specific dancers and choreographers from their contemporary cultural context. Thus, Belgian film critic Jacques de Casembroot writes in 1925: "La cinégraphie n'est-elle pas un perfectionnement ou une voie nouvelle d'un art qui existe depuis toujours: l'art du geste. – donc la Danse? – J'entends la danse comme la comprennent Isadora Duncan et surtout les Sakharoff, c'est-à-dire 'la poésie par le mouvement.'"[22]

With Isadora Duncan, Alexander and Clotilde Sakharoff, de Casembroot invokes some of the protagonists of the dance reform movement. Yet, at the same time as borrowing his conception from the dance aesthetics of his contemporaries, he refers back to a seemingly prehistoric dance tradition as "un art qui existe depuis toujours." Whereas dance here is construed as an art deriving from archaic, almost timeless origins, cinematography is being promoted as dance's modern successor. Similarly to de Casembroot's conception of cinema as dance's "perfectionnement," the writings of Ricciotto Canudo and Élie Faure are equally characterised by such a teleological perspective, declaring cinema to be the continuation, if not even the accomplishment of the age-long evolution of the arts. The connecting link, however, is not only made via the aspect of motion in either art form. In film, Canudo also recognises the realised promise of a wordless, suggestive art already articulated in dance. In an article of 1919, he writes: "La Pantomime et la Danse, l'une par le geste, l'autre par les rythmes du corps, ont cherché cet art si suggestif du silence que le Cinéma a réalisé pleinement."[23] This idea, frequently voiced in the context of the linguistic crisis around 1900, that film could supposedly rehabilitate an original and speechless form of communication, would be continued prominently only a few years later, particularly in the writings of Béla Balázs.[24]

For French art historian Élie Faure, the affinity of dance and cinema is notably founded in their shared potential to realise a Wagnerian vision of harmonious integration of all the arts:

> *La danse est un art négligé. Le cinématographe un art naissant. L'un et l'autre sont méconnus. Il me semble pourtant que le cinéma et la danse pourraient nous livrer le secret des rapports de tous les arts plastiques[...]. La danse, à toute époque, comme le cinéma demain est chargée de réunir la plastique à la musique, par le miracle du rythme à la fois visible et audible, et de faire entrer toutes vives dans la durée les trois dimensions de l'espace.*[25]

Accordingly, cinema was to continue in modernity the integrating function which according to Faure dance for centuries had held in the interplay of the arts. Interestingly, in their attempts to integrate the medium film into the traditional system of the arts, film theorists such as Canudo, Faure and de Casembroot do not refer to the dance traditions of the 19th century as the romantic ballet for instance, but rather to the construction of a mythic, archaic history of dance and its renaissance in 20th-century modern dance. The idiosyncrasy of film theory's retrospective references thus consists in the fact that its understanding fundamentally relies on a chiastic blending of ancient and modern dance: what is referred to as dance's mythical history, turns out to be a romanticized reconstruction of a dance historiography as developed within the dance aesthetic around 1900. Effectively, the renewal of dance through Isadora Duncan, the Sakharoffs and other pioneers is largely stimulated and shaped by the historicist vision inherent in Nietzsche's and Wagner's reception of the ancient world and is itself a retrospection of the (primarily occidental) history of art and culture. The latter's pictorial

archives and museums as well as the so-called "primitive dances" provide the model for the "new" dances defined by their naturalness and their affinity to primitive culture as opposed to the rationalised, mechanical age.[26] This coalescence of modern dance with the conception of an anthropologically conceived, archaic dance historiography becomes particularly manifest in Isadora Duncan's groundbreaking conference of 1903, entitled *The Dance of the Future*, in which she postulates: "If we seek the real source of the dance, if we go to nature, we find that the dance of the future is the dance of the past."[27]

Blending the archaic and the new: ancient dances and futuristic visions of media technology

This concomitance of references to the Old and anticipations of the New also features prominently in the film *Dances of the Ages* performed and presumably written by Ted Shawn, one of the first male pioneers in American modern dance. Produced in 1913 for the Thomas Edison Company, *Dances of the Ages* is not only one of the rare film documents featuring dancers from the modern dance movement, but also reflects the conceptual blending of archaic dance and 20th-century media technology as negotiated in early film discourses. By his own statement, Shawn himself had the idea for the film and proposed the scenario to the Edison Company: "On a thin thread of supporting scenario, was strung my idea of the dance from the Stone Age down to America 1912, passing swiftly through Egypt, Greece, Rome, Mediaeval Europe on the way [...] being a moving picture of Norma Gould and me and our group."[28]

Just as the dance discourses of this period conceive it as art deriving from archaic, almost timeless origins, Ted Shawn stages his *new* dances as a series of *ancient* ones. As Elizabeth M. Drake-Boyt points out,[29] this form of "indirect" presentation allowed him to increase the legitimacy of his new aesthetics, and to introduce (via cinematic distribution) his dances to a considerably larger audience than those of live performances.

Parallel to Shawn staging his "modern" dances under the cover of a "semi-documentary"[30] on dance historiography, the film presents the recourse to dance via a *mise en abîme* structure superimposing different time layers: through multiple exposure, the "visions" of the historical dances are staged on a large refectory table in front of (an exclusively male)[31] audience within the film (fig. 22). Several historical sources[32] identify these spectators-within-the-film gathered around the table as reactionary ballet masters visibly approving the old and disapproving the new dances, such as the contemporary rag dance. By juxtaposing a (fictitious) audience of 1913 with ancient dances *within* the film, this vision of animated miniature dances seems to produce a blending of archaic and innovative, ancient and modern times. Simultaneously, this arrangement prominently displays the filmic apparatus itself. So, at first glance, we cannot be quite sure whether the audience in Shawn's film is exhilarated by the attraction of the performances themselves or by their rather unusual presentation mode as animated miniatures on a banquet table. Besides the evocation of its origins in prehistoric times, dance here becomes a pretext for displaying cinema's technological and aesthetic potential. *Dances of the Ages* thus can be regarded as a self-reflexive negotiation of cinema's genealogy in a historiography of the art of movement, as well as of its futuristic visions. As an article from *The Bioscope* in 1913 indicates, *Dances of the Ages* indeed seems to have been considered a technological innovation by its contemporaries: "The picture is a decided novelty, and one that is bound to attract a great deal of attention."[33] Similarly to *Animated Picture Studios*, Shawn's *Dances of the Ages* thus interlaces the attraction of the represented dances (mirrored within the film by the diegetic audience) with its self-display as "spectacular apparatus." Besides its groundbreaking use of technical devices in the holographic miniature dances, the film moreover conjures up the fantastic idea of a renaissance of the past within modern technology – a well-established theme in the science fiction genre.[34] With this visionary dimension, Shawn's filmic dance historiography proposes a self-reflexive image of the cinematic

apparatus as peculiarly undetermined time machine continuously oscillating between an archaic past and a visionary future.

"De l'avènement futur de la Danse véritable au cinéma": Visions of a dance-like cinema

This futuristic gesture also recurs in film theory's references to the choreographic arts as articulated by several authors in the 1920s. In 1923, French film critic Jean Tedesco, for instance, conjures up what he calls "l'avènement futur de la Danse véritable au cinéma."[35] To counter the rather unsatisfying attempts of his contemporaries, Tedesco claims a filmic approach to dance that no longer integrates it in the form of anecdotical attractions, but one where the dance may intrinsically affect and permeate the filmic qualities of movement. Even if Tedesco primarily seems to think of a dance-like corporality in film acting, the metaphorisation of dance projected as cinema's possible future also implies the potential of bodily dance being superseded by cinematic "dance." Such concepts of dance performed by film itself particularly emerge in the context of the Avant-gardes of the twenties, promoting cinema's specific potential of creating and organising motion "as dance." In an article published in 1927 in the revue *Schémas* edited by Germaine Dulac, French poet and film critic Fernand Divoire, for instance, develops his ideas on cinema's capacity to transform everyday movement into dance movements: "Danseur, cheval, oiseau: le cinéma peut lier ces danses. Il peut comprendre que – danseur, cheval, oiseau – *il n'y a qu'une danse.* Cette danse, il peut la découvrir. OU LA CRÉER."[36]
This turn towards a more metaphorical speech of "dancing images" inaugurates a subtextual line in film theoretical thought, linking completely different approaches of theorists such as Jean Epstein, Germaine Dulac, and later also Siegfried Kracauer, Rudolf Arnheim or most recently Noël Carroll. If these concepts of a dance-like film mostly remain rather enigmatic, they are all characterised by a utopian gesture constantly projecting into the future the possible fulfilment of the potential offered by a veritable fusion of the two arts. Thus, throughout almost a hundred years of film theory, the futurity of dance references seems to constitute a persistent figure of speech perennially extending the vision of a dance-like film aesthetic to come.

Dance and the cinematic imaginary after film

As a concept exploring and anticipating the continuous re-invention of the cinematic apparatus, dance references in film and film theory not only negotiate the novelty and transformation of cinema, especially in the first decades of the 20th century – as I have tried to briefly outline in this paper. Furthermore, dance motifs and references seem to accompany the introduction of new technologies and aesthetic paradigms throughout film history, negotiating in each period the specific aesthetic concerns as well as the technological changes.[37] While the discourses of the teens and twenties are especially concerned with the paradigms of movement and corporality, the introduction of the sound film, for example, is reflected upon by viewing dance as a poetological model for the synchronisation of visual movement and sound.[38] Similarly, the advent of video towards the end of the 1960s results in numerous experiments with dancers, and the accompanying discourses suggest dance to be a conceptual model for negotiating video's relation to the pro-filmic.[39]
Ultimately, the emergence and constitution of the digital media has once again been accompanied by the figure and concept of dance. Using the example of the virtual dance installation *Ghostcatching* (1999), I would like to conclude with a brief outlook on dance in digital media and its inherent reminiscences of cinema's beginnings. Produced in collaboration between choreographer Bill T. Jones and computer artists Paul Kaiser and Shelley

Eshkar, *Ghostcatching* suggests how the digital image revitalises the assumptions implicit in the film theoretical discourses of the teens and twenties, and especially the idea that cinematic images by filmic means alone might produce a dance without a dancer. Using motion-capture technology, *Ghostcatching* seems to extend even further the dematerialisation and mediatization of the dancer as shown in *Animated Picture Studio*. The eight-minute film sequence transmits the dancer Bill T. Jones' movements recorded by sensors into a system of light beams. The dancer's body thus seems abstracted into a complex of lines which only vaguely contours the human anatomy: the sketched bodies seem permeable and open, without the inscription of a face. Through an acousmatic-sounding voice breathing, speaking and humming from an undefined offspace, the dancing lines seem solely acoustically attached to a ghostly corporality. The procedures of motion capturing and programming as hand-drawn lines in turn evoke the motion studies undertaken by Étienne-Jules Marey or Frank B. Gilbreth towards the end of the 19th century, attempting to make visible motion sequences by light-reflecting points. Just as these bio-mechanical studies on movement anticipated the emergence of cinema, *Ghostcatching* seems less concerned with the possible reproduction or documentation of live dance through media technologies. But, similarly to *Animated Picture Studio* and *Dances of the Ages,* it self-consciously demonstrates the potential of movement production "as dance," achieved beyond the human body merely by means of the medium itself.
Thus, at least for the time being, digitally produced choreographies like *Ghostcatching* mark the vanishing point of the potentiality reflected and projected by film via the figure of dance. Very much in the meaning of Nicole Brenez, dance becomes a trope through which the boundaries of the cinematic are continuously shifted and extended both technologically and aesthetically. Between references to the traditional arts of movement and the anticipation of a specifically cinematographic potential, dance thus seems to become an ambiguous figure of cinematic reflexivity, pointing at the same time in two opposing directions: cinema's past as well its (perpetually reinvented) future.

Illustrations

21. *Animated Picture Studio* (Percy Stow for Hepworth, 1903).

22. The Egyptian Dance from *Dances of the Ages* (Edison Company, 1913).

Notes

Thanks to Henry M. Taylor for assistance with the English text.

[1] S. Kracauer, *Theory of Film. The Redemption of Physical Reality*, Oxford University Press, London 1973, pp. 42 et seq.

[2] See for example the influential publications by Giorgio Agamben and Nicole Brenez: G. Agamben, *Notes on Gesture* (1993), in H. Schmutz, T. Widmann (eds.), *Dass die Körper sprechen, auch das wissen wir seit langem/That Bodies Speak Has Been Known for a Long Time*, Walther König, Köln-Wien 2004, pp. 105-114; N. Brenez, *De la figure en générale et du corps en particulier: l'invention figurative au cinéma*, De Boeck, Paris 1998.

[3] L. Engell, *Die genetische Funktion des Historischen in der Geschichte der Bildmedien*, in L. Engell, J.

Vogl (eds.), *Mediale Historiographien*, Universitätsverlag, Weimar 2001, pp. 33-56, p. 49 (my translation).

[4] Since 1903, the Pathé catalogues list the "scènes de danses et de ballets" as the seventh series of production genres, cf. H. Bousquet (ed.), *Catalogue Pathé: des années 1896 à 1914*, Henri Bousquet, Bures-sur-Yvette 1993-1996, p. 1.

[5] On dance numbers in the Skladanowskys' film programmes cf. the forthcoming publication by L. Guido, "Auf die Bühne gezaubert, dass man erstaunt: *cinéma, danse et music-hall au tournant du 20e siècle*", in *Seminar, Moving Pictures, Moving Bodies: Dance in German and Austrian Film 1895-1933* (edited by M. Cowan, B. Hales).

[6] A print of *Animated Picture Studio*, alternatively listed under the title *An Up-to-Date-Studio*, can be found in the Library of Congress film archives. Cf. K. R. Niver, *Motion Pictures from the Library of Congress Paper Print Collection 1894-1912*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1967, p. 9.

[7] Cf. the entry in the BFI Online-Catalogue: http://ftvdb.bfi.org.uk/sift/title/687107, last visit 5 august 2009.

[8] Cf. N. Brenez, *De la figure en générale et du corps en particulier: l'invention figurative au cinéma*, cit., p. 290.

[9] Regarding the concept of *monstration*, cf. also A. Gaudreault, "Film, récit, narration. Le cinéma des frères Lumière," in *Iris*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1984, pp. 61-70.

[10] Cf. C. Hindson, "The Female Illusionist – Loïe Fuller: Fairy of Wizardness?," in *Early Popular Visual Culture*, vol. 4, no. 2, July 2006, pp. 161-174, p. 171 et seq.

[11] Regarding the concept of attraction as basic constituent of early cinema, cf. T. Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions. Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde," in *Wide Angle*, vol. 8, no. 3-4, Fall 1986, pp. 63-70.

[12] Cf. F. Kessler, "La Cinématographie comme dispositif (du) spectaculaire," in *CINéMAS*, vol. 14, no. 1, Autumn 2003, pp. 21-34.

[13] For the concept of *cultural series*, cf. A. Gaudreault, *Cinéma et attraction: pour une nouvelle histoire du cinématographe*, CNRS, Paris 2008.

[14] N. Brenez, *De la figure en générale et du corps en particulier: l'invention figurative au cinéma*, cit., p. 290.

[15] I. Christie, *The Last Machine. Early Cinema and the Birth of the Modern World*, BBC Educational Developments, London 1994, p. 127.

[16] Cf. for example S. Huschka, "Das Universum der *neuen freien* Tanzkörper. 'Das Licht auf weiße Blüten fallend.' Isadora Duncan, Loie Fuller und Ruth St. Denis," in Id., *Merce Cunningham und der Moderne Tanz. Körperkonzepte, Choreographie und Tanzästhetik*, Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg 2000, pp. 52-107.

[17] Cf. G. Brandstetter, *Tanz-Lektüren. Körperbilder und Raumfiguren der Avantgarde*, Fischer Taschenbuch, Frankfurt am Main 1995, p. 35.

[18] A. Gaudreault, P. Marion, "A Medium Is Always Born Twice," in *Early Popular Visual Culture*, vol. 3, no. 1, May 2005, pp. 3-15.

[19] *Idem*, p. 12.

[20] *Idem*, p. 13.

[21] Cf. J. H. Mazo, *Prime Movers. The Makers of Modern Dance in America*, Princeton Book Co., New York 1977.

[22] J. de Casembroot, "Ce que le public en pense: de J. de Casembroot à Neuilly-sur-Seine," in *Cinéa-Ciné pour tous*, no. 46, 1st October 1925, p. 26a, as quoted in N. Ghali, *L'Avant-garde cinématographique en France dans les années 20. Idées, conceptions, théories*, Paris Expérimental, Paris 1995, p. 142.

[23] R. Canudo, *La Leçon du cinéma* (1919), as reprinted in Id., *L'Usine aux images*, Séguier, Paris 1995, pp. 41-43, esp. p. 43.

[24] Cf. B. Balázs, *Der sichtbare Mensch: oder die Kultur des Films*, Deutsch-österreichischer Verlag, Wien 1924. On Baláz's film theory in the context of the linguistic criticism at the turn of the century, also cf. J. Schweinitz, "Béla Balázs' neue visuelle Kultur, die sprachskeptische Tradition und Robert Musils Thematisierung des Formellhaften," in Id., *Film und Stereotyp: eine Herausforderung für das Kino und die Filmtheorie: zur Geschichte eines Mediendiskurses*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 2006, pp. 139-160.

[25] É. Faure, *La Danse et le Cinéma* (1927), in Id., *L'Homme et la Danse*, Pierre Fanlac, Paris 1978, pp. 23-29, esp. p. 23.

[26] Cf. G. Brandstetter, *Tanz-Lektüren. Körperbilder und Raumfiguren der Avantgarde*, cit.

[27] I. Duncan, *The Dance of the Future* (1902-1903), reprinted in R. Copeland, M. Cohen (eds.), *What Is Dance? Readings in Theory and Criticism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1983, pp. 262-264, esp. p. 262.

[28] From an unedited manuscript for "One Thousand and One Night Stands" from Walter Terry in the privat ownership of Norton Owen, director of Jacob's Pillow Archives, 2003. As quoted in E. M. Drake-Boyt, *Dance as a Project of the Early Modern Avant-garde*, PhD thesis at Florida State University, 2005, p. 128.

[29] *Idem*, p. 128

[30] Cf. E. Lauritzen, G. Lundquist, *American Film-Index 1908-1915*, Film-Index, Stockholm 1976-1984, p. 129.

[31] On Ted Shawn's conception of *men dances*, cf. J. Schulze, *Dancing Bodies. Dancing Genre: Tanz im 20. Jahrhundert aus der Perspektive der Gender-Theorie*, Ebersbach, Dortmund 1999, pp. 145-206.

[32] W. Terry, *Ted Shawn. Father of American Dance*, Dial, New York 1976, p. 18; as quoted in: N. Owen, *Ted Shawn's Moving Images*, in J. Mitoma (ed.), *Envisioning Dance on Film and Video*, Routledge, New York 2002, pp. 61-65, p. 61.

[33] From an article published in *The Bioscope*, vol. 7, no. 31, 1913, as quoted in A. W. Strickland, F. J. Ackerman, *A Reference Guide to American Science Fiction Films*, T.I.S. Publications, Bloomington Indiana 1981, p. 54.

[34] Tellingly, *Dances of the Ages* is classified as a science fiction film in the above-mentioned *Reference Guide to American Science Fiction Films*, cf. *Idem*, p. 54.

[35] J. Tedesco, "La Danse sur l'écran," in *Cinéa-Ciné pour tous*, no. 1, 15 November 1923, pp. 6-11, p. 10.

[36] F. Divoire, "Danse et cinéma," in *Schémas*, no. 1, February 1927, pp. 41-43, esp. p. 42.

[37] Nicolas Villodre has developed this idea elsewhere, cf. N. Villodre, *Cobayes. Panorama du film de danse en France*, in N. Brenez, Ch. Lebrat (eds.), *Jeune, dure et pure! Une histoire du cinéma d'avant-garde et expérimental en France*, Cinémathèque Française, Paris 2000, pp. 46-48.

[38] In his much-quoted article *Style and Medium in the Motion Pictures*, Erwin Panofsky for example refers to ballet to describe and differentiate the relation of sound and image in the emerging talkies. Cf. E. Panofsky, *Style and Medium in the Motion Pictures*, in Id., *Three Essays on Style*, MIT Press, Cambridge Mass. 1995, pp. 93-125, p. 100.

[39] Here we can only mention a small selection of the numerous publications since the 1970s dealing with the phenomenon of video-dance: J. Bush, P. Z. Grossman, "Videodance," in *Dance Scope*, vol. 9, no. 2, Spring-Summer 1975, pp. 10-17; V. Maletic, "Videodance – Technology – Attitude Shift," in *Dance Research Journal*, vol. 19, no. 2, Winter 1987-1988, pp. 3-7; E. Vaccarino, *La musa dello schermo freddo. Videodanza, computer e robot*, Costa & Nolan, Genova 1996.